

FRENCH REVOLUTION AS A WORLD FORCE

involved the still wider problem of the nature of human society. To the view that society consisted of an association of individuals bound together by a contract for certain definite and limited purposes he opposed the conception of a living organism whose character is determined by its history, and whose members are linked to one another and to the whole by a network of invisible influences. In this recognition of the instinctive and historical element in human association lies Burke's supreme claim to greatness as a political thinker. The work is not only the finest exposition of the philosophic basis of conservatism ever written, but a declaration of the principles of evolution, continuity, and solidarity which must find a place in all sound political thinking. Against the pretensions of the individual he sets the collective reason; against the demands of the present he sets the accumulated experience of the past; for natural rights he offers social rights; for liberty he offers law. Society means to him a partnership between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are yet to be born. But in his protest against a mechanical individualism he falls into the opposite error. The present ceases to be merely the heir of the past and becomes its slave. States are denied the power of self-determination inherent in every living society, and hoary abuses find shelter under the mantle of historical tradition and prescriptive right. Burke has much to give us, but we require other teachers as well.

King George III said it was a book which every gentleman should read, and it was rapturously hailed as the manifesto of the counter-revolution by the governing classes throughout Europe. In England it made conservative readers more conservative and radical readers more radical. Macintosh replied

for the liberal bourgeoisie in his *Vindiciae Gallicae*, but with the coming of the Terror he recanted his liberalism. Tom Paine's *rights of Man*, written for what Burke called the swinish multitude, thoroughly scared the upper classes; for the unflinching appeal to natural rights, the outspoken contempt for the English Constitution, the audacious attack on the King, and the confident assumption that monarchy and aristocracy would speedily disappear from Europe, seemed a confirmation of their worst fears. The alarm increased when it was known that the book was selling by tens of thousands, and that political societies of radical views were springing up like mushrooms. With the overthrow of the French monarchy in 1792, and the execution of the King and the outbreak of